The Cafe Put.

Concerning the

SUCCESSION

OF HIS

Royal Highneſs

THE

DUKE of YORK.

LONDON:

Printed by *M. Clark*, for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1679.

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THE Case of His *Royal Highnesses Succession* (in regard of the present circumstances of Plots and Popery) has been, of late, sufficiently agitated, *Pro*, and *Con*; while the *Advocates* of *Both sides* pretend equally to support themselves upon Arguments drawn from *Nature*, *Scripture*, *Law*, *History*, *Customs*, and *Political Expedience*. [*Et Pila minantia Pilis*] Now as it is utterly impossible for a *Contradiction*, to be *Both ways* in the *Right*; so the Difficulty will not be much less, for a Common man, in a Proposition of this Nicety, to distinguish betwixt the *Truth*, and the

The Dukes Succession the Common subject of the Press.

Law, and Scripture pretended on Both sides.

Paradox; and to determine, upon which ſide the *Reaſon* lies. Or what if the Contendents themſelves ſhould yet, in ſome degree, have left the very Pinch of the Point betwixt them? For it is not the bare Citing of a piece of *Scripture*, or a *Record*, that does the buſineſs; but the fair *Expounding*, and *Applying* of it, with a due Regard to the Context of *Times*, *Perſons*, *Intereſts*, *Occaſions*, and other Circumſtances. There is a great difference betwixt the *Counſels* of *Factious Times*, and of *Peaceable*; of *Uſurpers*, and of *Lawful Princes*; the *Conceſſions* of *Kings* in a Moral State of *Liberty*, and of *Kings* under a kind of *Dureſſe*. We ſhould, in fine, diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Sacred*, and *Inviolable Reſolutions*, that are founded upon *Equity*, and the *Common Good*, and thoſe *Temporary ſhifts*, which are only Invented to ſerve a *preſent Turn* of *State*. Was there ever any *Sedition* that did not recommend, and ſupport it ſelf upon ſome pretext of *Law* and *Preſident*? Was there ever any *Hereſie*, or *Schiſm*, that did not advance it ſelf under the Countenance of ſome *Text*? And yet Heaven forbid, that we ſhould think ever the worſe, either of *the word of God*, or of *the Law of the Land*, for being made uſe of as a Cloak to ſo much wickedneſs. He that has a mind to deſtroy the *Diſcipline*, the *Order*, or the very *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, ſhall Quote ye *twenty Texts* for't; and as many *Preſidents*, (if there ſhall be occaſion) for *Diverting*, or *Cutting off* the *Succeſſion*; nay for *Depoſing* the *King Himſelf*, and *Changing* the very *Form* of the *Government*. This is no more then what has been actually done in the Memory of Man. 'Tis a hard matter to imagine a *New Caſe*: So that let the Inſtance be what it will, it is but looking back into Former Ages, to match it; where you ſhall

Texts, and Preſidents may be miſapplyed.

Hereſie, and Sedition, pretend Texts, and Preſidents.

Texts and Preſidents to all purpoſes.

ſhall be ſure to find Choice of *Preſidents ready made* to your hand (like *Cloaths* in a *wholeſale Shop*) of *all Sizes*, and *Colours*.

Wherefore we ſhould have a care, methinks, of dealing in *perverted Texts*, and *Preſidents*. The Devil himſelf fiſhes with theſe Baits; and (as ſome body ſays) the Rabble ſwallow them whole, without either examining, or dreaming of the Danger, till they feel the Hook in their Guts. Or, if I may change my *Metaphor*; the *Common people* are caught juſt as we catch *Larks*; 'Tis but ſetting up a *fine Thing* for a *Wonderment*, they all flock to't as far as they can ſee it, and never leave *Flickering* about it, till the Fowler has them in the *Net*. A Pomp of *words*, and *Colours*, to the *Multitude*; is but the Caſting of the *Sun* in their Eyes from a *Looking-Glaſs*; the more they *look* at it, the leſs able are they to *diſcern* what the matter is: and the great miſchief is this; they never take themſelves to be ſo *Clear-ſighted*, as in thoſe caſes wherein they are *Stark blind*. They are akin to what d'ye call him's *Monſters*; their *Eyes* are in their *Breaſts*, and their *Brains* in their *Bellies*: And therefore whoever would make an Intereſt with the *Vulgar*, applies himſelf not to their *Underſtandings*, but to their Paſſions, and *Appetites*. He comes with *Abſolons Exclamation* in his mouth, *Oh! that I were made a Judg in the Land!* which ſeldom fails of being the Prologue to ſome approching Tragedy. But let me try now, if I can find my way back again.

Have a Care of perverted Authorities.

The Diſpute, Pro, and Con.

There is an *Aſſertion* laid down, *That all the Human Acts, and Powers in the world, cannot hinder the Deſcent of the Crown upon the Next Heir of the Bloud. This Poſition*, the *Aſſertor* undertakes to make *Good* by *Scripture*, *Law*, *Hiſtory*, and *Reaſon*.

And

And his *Opponents*, on the other side, undertake, upon the very same *Authorities*, to *Overthrow it*; and I find a very Extraordinary Pen engag'd in the Controversie: We shall enquire, first, *How this Question came at this time, to be set a Foot*; and then, *into the Quality of the Question it self.*

How the Question came to be set a Foot.

There was a *Bill* brought into the House of *Commons*, in *May last*; (which was *Twice read*) *for disabling His Royal Highness to Inherit this Imperial Crown*, because of his *Departure* from *Us* to the *Romish Communion*. The matter going no further, and That Parliament being soon after *Dissolv'd*; there came forth, in Print, *a Pretended Copy* of that *Bill*; which was publish'd by a Person (if a mans Affections may be judg'd by his Practices) that has as little kindness for His Majesty, as for his *Royal Brother*; and not one jot more for the Church of *England*, then for That of *Rome*. Of both which Aversions, there are Instances more then enow: Beside that in the very *Same Pamphlet*, he carries an *Inference*, from the Case of *Foreclosing* the *Duke*, to the *same Right* of *Removing the King himself*; *in case of disability* (as he says) *to do the Kingdom any Good*. So that instead of pursuing the *seeming ends* of the said *Bill*; that is to say, the *Preservation* of His *Majesty*, and the *Protestant Religion*, by *This Act of Exclusion*; he very fairly, and for brevity sake, *Sweeps all together*. By the *Character* of the *First Publisher*, we may Imagine the *Intent* of *That Publication*: And it is further to be noted, that the *Anti-Ducal Party* were the *Aggressors*; and it would have lookt like a yielding of the Cause, to have let the Subject fall without a Reply. So that the Blame (if any shall arise from this Matter) must be laid at his door that mov'd the Question: which Question is briefly This.

The King Removed by Consequence.

Who were the Aggressours.

Whether

Whether the Parliament of England, *may by the Laws of* England, *Exclude the next Heir of the Blood from Succession to the Crown.* Some are of opinion *for* it, others *against* it. But the *Legality*, or *Illegality* of such an *Act*, is a Point that I am not willing to meddle with, either one way, or other. For whether the thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *not*, there may be *Danger yet*, and *Inconvenience*, in the putting of the *Question*. So that, in the Order of Reasoning, it should be first agreed, that this is a *fit Question* to be *put*, before we joyn Issue upon the *Merits* of the *Main Cause*. For my own part, I think it had been much better let alone; and that out of divers respects, in their due places to be consider'd.

The Case Put.

A prepostterous Question.

First, as to the *Question it self*; it is a Ticklish Point, to say, what *a King of Great Britain*, with his *Two Houses of Parliament*, either *Can*, or *Cannot Lawfully do*: when perhaps it would puzzle the *Three Inns of Court*, to *State*, and *Determine* the very *Priviledges* of the *Single House of Commons*. *Secondly*, I do not know how far *Private men* may be allow'd to pronounce upon the *Power* of *that Government*, to which they are Born *Subject*. *Thirdly*, *This Particular Case* renders the Undertaking more *Invidious*, and *Dangerous*: The King, 'tis true, calls the House of Commons to Consult, and Advise *de Arduis Regni*; (Of which *Ardua* That now in hand is undoubtedly the *Chief*) but I cannot yet learn that the *Soluta Multitudo* were ever joyn'd with their *Representatives* in the *Commission*. *Fourthly*, what can be more *Hazardous*, then the Probable *Effects* of *this Dispute*? It Splits the People directly into *Two Parties*; *One* of which is certainly in the *wrong*: and the *Publick Peace* endanger'd upon the *Division*. Beside that the People being made *Judges* of a Case,

Reasons why the Question ought not to have been Put.

that

The People Incompetent Judges of the Case.

that they do not one jot *Understand*; it looks as if they were not call'd upon, so much for their *Opinion*, as for their *Help*. The Publishing *Manifesto's* of this kind is not so much the *Stating* of a *Case*, as the *Pre-engaging* of an *Interest*; for it is not a Rush matter, to the Multitude, whether the thing be *Lawful*, or *Not*, according to the *Law* of the *Land*: Let but Them be once possess'd, that it is *Reasonable*, and for the *Common Good*, (thô in *Truth*, never so *Inconvenient*, and *Unreasonable*) the Old Story of *Self-preservation*, and *Kings* being Constituted for the *Good* of the *People*, (in their mistaken sense) will make it *Lawful*. And when it comes to That once, the Government is Lost.

An Error of dangerous Consequence.

Great mischief, and

A Popular Error, upon the Matter here in Debate, must necessarily draw after it a train of dismal Consequences: as *distraction of Thought*, in the business of *Conscience*, and *Duty*; an *Aversion* to their *Superiors*; *Irreverence* to the *Laws*, and a Spirit of *Opposition* to all *Publick Acts* of *Civil Administration*; if not an *Usurpation* of the *Power it self*. And all This is no more, then to pass a *Sentence* in a Case where we our selves have given 'em the *Chair*. The very *Exposing* of the Question, is a kind of *Reference*; as who should say, *Gentlemen, can the Parliament disinherit the Duke or not?* And This They take for an *Authority*, to proceed upon, to an *Arbitration*. Now, on the *Other side*, I cannot find so much as one Colourable Pretence of *Advantage*, by the broaching of This Dispute, to *Countervail* all these *Mischiefs*.

No Benefit by the Question.

The Dispute Justified.

It is a great matter, you'l say, *the Clearing of a* Truth; *especially of a* Truth *so* necessary *to be* known; *that the* safety *and* well being *of* every Particular man; *the Preservation of our* King, Kingdom, *and* Religion, *depends upon the People's understanding this matter*

matter aright. If either this ſuggeſtion be not put home, or that the matter here ſuggeſted can be made good, I ſhall ſubmit my ſelf to be better Inſtructed in it.

First, as to the clearing of the *Truth*; —*Magno Judice ſe quiſque tuetur*. The very *Queſtion* is a *Moot-point*. *One Probable* is ſet up againſt *Another*; and the *Learned Themſelves* are *Divided* upon't. There are *Preſidents* produced on *Both ſides*; and *Objections* alſo on *Both ſides* to Thoſe *Preſidents*. And in ſhort, it muſt be the work of a *Caſuiſt*, as well as of a *Common Lawyer*, to decide this *Controverſie*. How ſhall the *Common people* come to *diſtinguiſh* between the *Right*, and the *Wrong*; where the *Doctors themſelves Differ?* Or how is it poſſible, to make any thing *Clear*, to Thoſe that want *Capacities* to *Underſtand* it? How ſhall They come to *ſeparate* matter of *Fact*, from *Right?* To know *what Preſidents* are *Warrantable*, or *what Caſes Parallel*, and *what not*; without any ſort of acquaintance, either with *Law*, or *Hiſtory*; with the *Intrigues* of *Parties* and *Factions*; or the *ſecret Reſſorts* of *State?* If it be ſaid that *Theſe Books are written only for ſuch as are* Competent Judges *of the Subject they Treat of*; my Anſwer is, that it were well enough, if they could be kept from falling into Other hands. But lying open, indifferently, to All, it is to be fear'd that the *Argument* does more *hurt* where it is *not throughly underſtood*; then *Good*, where it *is*. And there is This further to be ſaid; that in all Caſes of *Appeal* to the *People*, whether they *Underſtand* them, *or not*, they never fail of ſiding with thoſe Propoſitions, that Promiſe *Liberty*, to the *Subject*, and *Fetter* the *Government*. So that their *Partiality*, in *One Caſe*, is as bad as their *Ignorance*, in *Another*.

The Queſtion a *Moot-Point*.

Not one of a Thouſand underſtands the Point.

If it be agreed, that a man cannot be the *better* for any thing that he does *not Underſtand*; (or at leaſt, ſo far as he does not Underſtand it) and that not *one man* of a *thouſand underſtands* the *Streſs* of the Point here in *Iſſue*; the pretence of *clearing* the *Truth* falls to the ground: Or however, there is not *one man of a Thouſand the Better for't.*

Or what if the People did underſtand it?

But now on the *Other ſide*; let us ſuppoſe the people ſo wiſe, that every man that reads the Caſe ſees through it. This might ſerve to ſet *ſome* people *Right*, and to *Confirm Others.* But *Right?* In *What? In the Critical Explication of a Riddle of State*: which would ſerve us juſt to as much purpoſe, as the Knack of *Solving* other *Common Riddles.* It would make us, (as many other Curioſities do) only a little *more Learnedly*, and *Unprofitably Troubleſom.* It is not the *Common peoples Province*, to dive into the *Arcana Imperii*; and it is as little, either their *Duty*, or their *Intereſt*, to intermeddle in the Myſteries of *Government.* As the *Univerſe* it ſelf is compacted into *one Body*, by the Orderly *Diſpoſition*, and *Contiguity* of *Parts*: So is every *Political Society* alſo bound up in *One Community*, by a Regular *Diſtribution*, and *Subordination of Degrees*, *Offices*, and *Functions.* And is not all This, the *Work* and *Dictate* of the ſame Almighty *Providence?* He that made the *World*, appointed the *Order* of it; and aſſigned to every *Part*, its proper *Place*, and *Station.*

An Unprofitable Queſtion.

But to proceed now, upon the admittance of a Suppoſition, that the Subject matter of this Diſpute is competently *Underſtood.* *'Tis as Broad as 'tis Long*, take it which way ye pleaſe: And the very *ſame thing*, to the *People*, whether it goes *For* the Duke, or *Againſt* him. If they find that a Parliament

ment *Cannot* Diſinherit him, they are but where they were before; unleſs they ſhould Impoſe it upon the Government by *Force*. And what, on the *Other ſide*, if the Parliament may *Legally Do* it? May they not as *Legally* yet *Refuſe* it? So that the *People* are ty'd up *This* way, as well as the *Other*; without any manner of Benefit, beyond the *bare knowledg* whether the thing *may* be done, or *not*. If the Parliament *will*, they *May*; and if they will *not*, they may let it *alone*. But it many times falls out, that Overtures of this Nature ſerve rather as a *Temptation* to the doing of ſome thing at a *Venture*, then a ſimple, and candid *Deliberation*, whether a thing may be *Lawfully* done, or *no*. Or what if This thing may *Lawfully* be done? we are never the nearer yet: if His Majeſty has not as well the *Will* to do it, as the *Power*: And it ſeems more reaſonable to believe that he has *not*, then *Otherwiſe*; having ſo expreſly declared his mind to the *Two Houſes of Parliament* againſt it, in His moſt Gracious ſpeech of *May* laſt, in the words following.

I am as ready to join with you in all the ways, and means, that may Eſtabliſh as Firm a ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, as your own hearts can wiſh; and This not only during My time, (of which I am ſure you have no fear) but in all future Ages, even to the end of the world: And therefore am come to aſſure you, that what Reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent, to be paſs'd into Laws, to make you ſafe in the Reign of any Succeſſor (ſo as they tend not to Impeach the Right *of* Succeſſion, *nor the* Deſcent of the Crown in the True Line; *and ſo as they Reſtrain not the Juſt Right of any* Proteſtant Succeſſour:) *ſhall find from Me a* His Majeſties Speech.

ready Concurrence. And I desire you to think of some more effectual means for the Conviction of Popish Recusants, and to expedite your Counsels as fast as you can, that the world may see Our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity of shewing you how ready I am to do any thing, that may give Content and Satisfaction to such Loyal, and Dutiful Subjects.

Now if so it be that the very Question it self, (thô handled with all the *Simplicity* of Thought Imaginable) carries along with it so many *Difficulties*, and *Inconveniences*; and without any *Benefit* at all to the *Publick*; as is already set forth: what shall we say if upon a Fair, and Temperate Examination of the Arguments employ'd for the support of this Disinheriting Proposition, it shall appear, upon Evident *Reason*, and a Natural Deduction of *Consequences*, that, whether the Duke *Stands*, or *Falls*, the meer Ventilation of the *Question* opens a Gap to let in all those Calamities upon us, by unavoidable *Inferences*, which we propound to avoid by a *Prevential Exclusion?* To say nothing either of the *Boldness* of the *Argument*, from a *Private Pen*, or of the *Opposition* of a *Subject* to the *Solemn*, and *Declared Will* of his *Sovereign:* And That Declaration too, recommended to Us by a Previous Grant of the Thing in the whole World which we would be thought to set the highest value upon, the Security of the *Protestant Religion* by all ways Imaginable, to This, and to Future Ages. Truly the Trumping up of This Question, has an Ill Visage any way; but the doing of it directly against His Majesties Will, made known with his own Lips to the Contrary; This makes it look a great deal more Suspicious. For to what End is it to put our selves in a Sweat,

It is a Question of dangerous Consequences.

Sweat, upon a Queſtion, whether or no the King may *Lawfully* do ſuch a Particular thing; when he has told us before-hand, that he *Will not do it*; and the thing *cannot* be done, *Without* him? And the *Other* way, it looks Worſe; and carries ſuch an *Innuendo* along with it, as who ſhould ſay: *Look ye, my Maſters; Heres a thing the Government* May *do if they pleaſe; and it is abſolutely neceſſary to be* done: *But if They Will not*; ——— and ſo forth.

There's no managing of this Diſcourſe, without making frequent mention of his *Royal Highneſſes Quality*, and *Title*; and yet (ſaving my Duty to him in all his Capacities) I ſhall keep my ſelf in theſe Papers, upon a Punctual *Neutrality*, as to *His Pretenſions*: My buſineſs being only to Acquit my ſelf, in what I ow to my Religion, my Prince, and my Country, where I find any of theſe Sacred Intereſts Concern'd. As for Inſtance; where any *Contemptuous Reflections* are paſt upon the *Perſon* of the Duke, His Majeſty himſelf becomes a ſufferer, through the Indignities that are caſt upon his Brother. Or where the *Same Argument*, that is levell'd at the *Duke*, ſtrikes the *King too* and the *Government*. In Theſe Caſes I reckon my ſelf to be at Liberty.

The King wounded through the Duke.

The *Motives*, or *Inducements* to This Project of *Excluſion*, together with the very *Form it ſelf*; are ſet forth in the Pamphlet abovementioned, under the Title of *A Copy of the Bill concerning the Duke of York*, viz.

The Motives to the Bill of *Excluſion*.

That James *Duke of* York, Albany, *and* Ulſter, *having departed Openly from the Church of* England, *and having publickly profeſt, and own'd the* Popiſh Religi-

The Excluding Clause of the pretended Bill.

ligion, *which hath notoriously given* Birth, *and* Life *to the most Damnable, and Hellish* Plot, *(by the most Gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) shall be excluded, and disabled, and is hereby excluded, and disabled, for ever, from Possessing, Having, Holding, Inheriting, or Enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm, and These Kingdoms; and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions, now, or which shall hereafter be, under His Majesties Subjection; and of, and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revennes with the said Crowns, now, or hereafter, to be enjoy'd: And that upon the Demise, or Death of His Majesty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preserve) the Crowns, and Governments of these Kingdoms, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions Now, or which shall Hereafter be, under His Majesties Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, therewith of Right enjoy'd, and to be enjoy'd, shall devolve, and come upon such person who shall be next Lawful Heir of the same; and who shall have always been truely, and professedly, of the* Protestant Religion *now Established by Law within this Kingdom; as if the said Duke of* York *were actually dead,* &c.

The Ground and Extent of This *Exclusion.*

Here is *First*, to be consider'd, the *Ground* of This *Exclusion*; and *Then*, the *Extent* of it. The *Ground* of it is said to be *the Dukes Departure from the Church of* England, *to the* Romish *Religion*; *as that which notoriously gave* BIRTH, *and* LIFE *to the* PLOT.

The Duke gave neither *Birth* nor *Life* to the *Plot.*

Now Dr. *Tonge*, that knows better, tells us, that *this is No* New *Plot*; *but an* Old one, Continu'd: and Dr. *Oates*, most Expresly, in the *Twenty third Para-*

Paragraph of his *Narrative*, informs us, That the English *Fathers of St.* Omers, *writing to* Thomas Whitebread, *and Other Fathers Here*; *pray'd them to profecute their Deſign of taking away the King*; *and* if his Royal Highneſs ſhould not comply with them, to diſpatch Him too: *For they did fear, that not any of the* Stuarts *were men for Effecting Their Purpoſes. And in this Letter, Inſtructions were given to the Fathers, to feel how his* Royal Highneſs *ſtood* Affected. In the *Paragraph* following, the ſaid Fathers render This Account to the aforeſaid Letter, *That they had found, that althô the* Duke *was a* Good Catholick, *yet he had a tender* Affection *to the* King; *and would ſcarcely be engaged in That Concern*; *and if they ſhould once intimate their Deſigns, and Purpoſes unto Him, they might not only be fruſtrated of their Deſign, but alſo might loſe his Favour. Which Letter the* Deponent Saw, *and* Read *in the Month of* February. And Dr. *Oates* moreover, gives This Evidence againſt the Conſpirators, upon the Tryals of *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*; Fol. 22. of the ſaid Tryal: that *They did intend to diſpoſe of the* Duke *too, in Caſe he did not appear Vigorous in promoting of the* Catholick *Religion.* And this is not All neither: For the Doctor aforeſaid, in the *Appendix* to this *Narrative*, under the Head of *The General Deſign of the* POPE, *Society of* JESUS, *and their Confederates in This* Plot, Subjoyns this further Teſtimony, *Fol.* 64.

Proved by Dr. *Oates.*

They durſt not Truſt the Duke with the knowledg of any deſign.

The Duke to be diſpatched too.

That in caſe the Duke of York *will not accept theſe Crowns, as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope*; *as of His Gift*; *and Settle ſuch Prelates, and Dignitaries in the Church, and ſuch Officers in Commands, and Places, Civil, Naval, Military, as He hath Commiſſioned*;

Dr. *Oats* his Narrative Fol. 64.

missioned; (*as Above*) *Extirpate the* Protestant *Religion, and in order thereunto, ex post facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother, Massacre of his Protestant Subjects*; *Firing of his Towns*, &c. *by Pardoning the Assassins, Murtherers, and Incendiaries*; *That then, He be also* Poyson'd, *or* Destroy'd, *after they have for some time abused his Name and Title to Strengthen the* Plot, *&c.* Proceeding in the same Page *more Particularly, that the Royal Family of the* Stuarts, *are condemn'd to be cut off, Root and Branch*; *and namely the* King, Duke of York, *and* Prince of Aurange; *because that Family hath not answer'd their Expectations*; *nor have they any hopes* that any of them will comply with this their bloudy Design, *when full discover'd to them. And* Fol. 65. *As to* the Duke of York; *notwithstanding they acknowledg his Sincerity, and Affection to Their Religion, and to the Society*; *and his Demonstration thereof, by his taking* Bedingfield (*a Jesuit*) *for his Confessour*; *they Design to dispose of Him as is aboveſaid.*

The Duke to be Poyson'd, or Destroy'd.

No hopes of the Dukes Compliance.

The Duke clear'd by Dr. *Oates.*

How could the *Dukes Change of Religion* now, give *Birth* to a *Plot* that was in *Agitation, before That Change?* And so for his giving *Life* to't; we have Proofs here of the Clear Contrary, under the *Hand* and *Oath* of the *Prime*, and *Eminent Discoverer* of the *Plot it self.* Here are *First, Instructions* from St. *Omers Hither*, for *the feeling of the Dukes Pulse*; and *Secondly*; it appears by the *Return* to Those *Instructions*, that they durst not give his Royal Highness the least hint of the Design. Beside, that in despair of the Dukes Complyance, they had mark'd out his *R. H.* for *Slaughter*, as well as His *Majesty.* A new, and unheard of way, certainly, of *giving Life* to a *Plot*, for a Prince to run the

the riſque of being *Aſſaſſinated* himſelf, for fear he ſhould *diſappoint* it. This Calumny of *State* being removed, That of *Religion*, I ſuppoſe, will not bear ſo much weight, as bordering too near upon a *Doctrine*, which all *true Proteſtants* do, with One voice, *Condemn*. Security to his *Religion*.

As to the *Extent* of this *Imaginary Excluſion*, we may take a Computation of it, partly from the *Frame* of This *pretended Bill*, and partly from a view of the *Conſequences* that Attend it: For upon the Naked ſight of the *Bill*, one would think that the *Dukes Caſe* were the *ſingle point in Queſtion*. But whoſoever looks a little further, will find *a Snake in the Graſs*; and that more *Inconveniences* may be grafted upon *This Preſident*; then the very *Contrivers* of the Project themſelves were *aware of*, of which, by and by. The Extent of This Excluſion.

For admitting the *diſinheriſon* contended for, to be *Lawful*; it muſt be either *ſimply* ſo, upon a kind of *Omnipotent*, and *Unaccountable Prerogative* in *Government*; or *Conditionally* ſo; which needs no further Explanation; Then to refer, to its *known*, *Legal*, *Viſible*, and *Intelligible Limitations*. But if it be *Lawful* the *former way*; it is *Lawful*, without any reſpect to *Crimes* of *State*; *Opinions* in *Religion*; *Perſonal Defects*, or *Inhabilities*; *Minorities*; *Families*, or the Like. And then the *Power* may be as well transferr'd from *One*, to *More*, as from *One* to *Another*; for I do not know of any *Law*, that *permits* the *One*, and *prohibits* the *Other*. So that at this rate; this *Hereditary Government* may be turn'd into an *Elective*, into an *Ariſtocraſie*, a *Democraſie*, or into a *Medly of all theſe*, at pleaſure. And it is not to ſay, *what? Do ye think that Kings, or Parliaments* Suppoſe the *Diſinheriſon* Lawful. The danger of Abſolute, and Unknown Power.

ments will be mad? We have heard of *Parliamentum Insanum*, and read of Princes that have been next door to it: and though we are safe enough at Present, it is not Impossible, but Posterity may come to have More of them. Wherefore it should be in *State*, as it is in *Play*; there should be some *Common Rules* Agreed upon, to keep *shufflers*, in *Order*, as well as *fair Gamesters*. No *Government* can *stand*, without a *Foundation*; and *That Foundation* must be *known* too, and *Stable*; without Running to the *Cabalistical Notions* of *Salus Populi*, and *Instinct*. This is it, that preserves a Nation in a due Temperament of *Dominion*, and *Subjection*; where every man knows his Post in the Government, and stands Firm upon his Own bottom. The Foundations of *Government* should be like Those of the *Earth*; *not to be moved*: For Otherwise, our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*, are but *Precarious*, and at *Mercy*. In a *Popular Parliament*, the *Crown* goes to wrack, in a *Prerogative Parliament*, the *People*. We have *seen*, and *felt* the *One*; and there are those yet in Being, that have *Heard* of the *Other*. And from the Periods of these Distempers we furnish our selves with *Presidents*, (as we have Occasion) either for *Tyranny*, or *Sedition*: as if the doing of an Ill thing *Once*, were an Authority for the *Repeating* of it. And from what Root is it that all these Disorders Spring; but the Spinning of the Thred too Fine; and Resolving the *Plain* and *Practical* Duties of *Government*, and *Obedience*, into *Mystery*, and *Notion*; without shewing any State, or degree of men, what they are to Trust to? I do not speak in this place to the *Legality* of things, but to the *Utility* of them; and to Evince, that it is possible for a Thing to be *Lawful*, and yet Extremely *Inconvenient*. Suppose

A Necessity of Some known Fundamentals.

A thing may be Lawful and yet Inconvenient.

poſe *an Act of Parliament, to Prohibit the Making or Importing of any ſort of Arms, or Ammunition*; the *Authority* would not at all Excuſe the *Conſequence*. And the *Conſequence*, in This matter, is the Main Import of the *Queſtion*, what *Good*, or what *Ill*, will probably enſue upon it, either the *One* way, or the *Other*.

Four Obſtacles to be removed, before the King paſs the Bill.

But in our way to That Diſquiſition, We ſhould take Notice that there are *Four Points* to be all clear'd, before we can reaſonably expect His Majeſty ſhould come to a Reſolution: That is to ſay; 1. The *Lawfulneſs* of the Thing. 2. *Natural Affection.* 3. Matter of *Conſcience.* And 4. *Reaſon of State.* In the *Firſt Caſe* of the *Four* the Learned in the *Law* may be Conſulted; but in the *Other Three* the *King himſelf* is the only Competent *Judg.*

What if we ſhould, for Quiet-ſake now, let the *Firſt point* paſs for *Granted*, and ſuppoſe his Majeſty convinc'd of the *Legality* of the Act? There is yet a *Brother*; a *Prince*; and a *Friend* in the Caſe: A Perſon that has as frankly ventur'd his *Blood*, for his *King*, and his *Country*, as the meaneſt Subject in His Majeſties Dominions. And there may be certain Stimulations of *Honour*, as well as Impulſes of *Natural Affection.* Let but any *Generous Subject* make it his Own Caſe, and ask his Own heart, *what he himſelf would do under theſe Circumſtances?* And who knows further, but a Scruple of *Conſcience* may fall in too with this Tenderneſs of *Nature*, upon the thought of depriving a *Legal Heir*, by ſo extraordinary a way, of his *Undoubted Birth-Right?* If This ſhould be the Rub, there's no getting Over it. Or if the way were Clear thus far; yet if His Majeſty ſhould ſee any thing in the *Tendency* of the

Propoſition, either Inconſiſtent with the *Dignity* of His *Office*, or with the *Peace*, and *Security* of His *Government*, and *People*; ſuch *Reaſon of State* would undoubtedly put a Stop to any ſuch *Bill*. How far Theſe Reaſons, or any of them, may prevail toward the Preventing, or Obſtructing of This Project; we ſhall not preſume to enquire. But as to the *Manner* of Promoting it, on the Other ſide; the *Quality*, the *Force*, and the *Conſequences* of their Arguments; there are many things to be noted in them that ſeem worthy of Conſideration.

No Notice taken of Libels againſt His Majeſty, and His Government.

It is a ſtrange thing, in the Menage of This Cauſe, where the *Honour*, and *Safety* of the *King* appears to be the *Main Point* in *Queſtion*: *Firſt*, that men ſhould be ſo *Quick-ſighted*, as to ſee things in their *Conſequences* So *Remote*; and yet, at the ſame time, So Blind, as not to diſcern the *Affronts*, and *Indignities* that are dayly offer'd to His Majeſties *Authority*, *nearer hand*; and the *hazzards* that more directly ſtrike at His Sacred *Perſon*. My Charity perſuades me, that if ſome of them had taken notice of the *dangerous Practices* hereby intended; their Loyalty would have render'd them as Zealous, and Officious the Other way: For if a Prince be deſtroy'd; 'tis the ſame Caſe to every good Subject, whether it be done by a *Phanatick* or a *Jeſuite*. And then the *Honour* they have for the King, in His *Family*, as well as in *Himſelf*, would have Interpos'd, in the Vindication of our *Sovereigns Brother* from the Malice, and Contempt that has been paſt by Several Pamphleteers upon the very *Perſon* of his *Royal Highneſs*. 'Tis like they would have had the *Prudence* too, not to have markt out unto the Rabble, all the Diſſenters to this Bill, as *Conſpiraters*, and the *Betrayers* of their *Country*, till they ſhould have

ſeen

ſeen the Reſult of this next Parliament; for fear they ſhould find *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* under *That Character*. This is not *Reaſoning* of the Caſe, but downright *Setting the Dogs at a man.*

A well meaning Miſtake as Dangerous as a Malicious one.

There is no doubt in the world but many an Honeſt man, and a welwiſher to his Prince and Country ſtands well enough Affected to this Bill; (as many did in 1641. to the Pretenſions then a Foot) But when they found that Other people made Ill Uſe of Their Good meaning, and improv'd the Countenance of *Reforming* the Government to a *Violent Diſſolution* of it; How many thouſand Inſtances might a body produce of an unprofitable, and late Repentance, among thoſe Credulous and well-minded Gentlemen? And it is to be conſider'd alſo, that Their *Miſtakes* contributed no leſs to the Ruin of the *Church*, and *State*, then the *Malice* of the moſt potent *Conſpirators*: Nay More perhaps; for the Error of an Honeſt man miſleads other Honeſt men by Example, and gives a kind of Authority to the wickedneſs. Now thô this Parallel does not run upon all four; yet the Caſes jump exactly in This; *the ſame Anti-Monarchical Principles* which were the Ground-work of *That Sedition*, are now ſet a foot again in Concurrence with the *preſent Propoſition*; and ſupported alſo by ſome of the Active Promoters of it. So that let the Deſign be never ſo Innocent, or Lawful in it ſelf; if it be yet made uſe of to Introduce the Old Diſloyal, and Republican *Leaven*; it is much the Caſe as if a man ſhould ſet Fire to his Houſe, for fear of Thieves. Now whether the Liberties of the Preſs be ſo *great*, ſo *foul*, and ſo *dangerous*, or not, as I have repreſented them, it ſhall be ſeen in a few words, and left to the Reader to judg of the Intention of ſuch

The Old Cauſe Reviv'd.

deſpe-

desperate Positions, and what may be the Event of such Bold Beginnings, if not seasonably Prevented. Upon the Publication of these Papers I should be glad to find some of the Fierce Sticklers for the *Kings safety* by *the Exclusion of the Duke*, as Nimble, on the Other side, for the *Honour*, and *Safety* of His Majesty, in Punishing the *Authors*, and *Promoters* of these *Libels*.

Scandalous Reflections upon His Royal Highness.

There are some Irreverences toward the person of His Royal Highness which are not with Decency to be recited, and which for Other Reasons I am willing to pass over; contenting my self only with the modestest of a great many in the Author of *the Plea to the Dukes Answers*. *Consider his Humours*, (says he) *So Fierce, Revengeful, and Resolute: But I'le say no more: who knows not how Improper it is to make a Woolf a* Shepherd? Nay he goes further yet: *If the Duke be a Papist*, (as none deny him Now) *he's an Heretick, as To, or From Us: And what shall we do? Not do by the Papists, as They would by Us?* But what's That? He tells us Three or four lines before; That it is a Maxim *among Papists, not only that the Pope may at his Pleasure Depose Kings, and dispose of Crowns*: but further, *That the People may ever chuse a King, when he should else be an Heretick*, So that after the *Popes Example* of *Deposing Protestant Kings*, *We* may *Depose Popish*. This is a Nail Home driven; and yet for fear it should not hold, he has be bestow'd a *Rivet* upon it. I hope he will allow a *Popish* King to be an *Ill* one; and for *That*, he tells ye that *when Kings themselves be* Ill *ones*, *God not only approves of their Removal, but even Himself does it*. Which is a most Emphatical way of Expounding his Meaning: For not only ILL DUKES but KINGS (I perceive) THEMSELVES are as well

Seditious Positions.

well to be remov'd, if they be ILL ones. There's Another Libel that takes the very ſame Byaſs too; he begins with the *Duke*, and *Ends* with the *King:* Laying it down for a *Maxim*, that *the King May be remov'd for Inhability to Govern:* And then for an *Uſe of Application*, he gives us the Late Inſtance of *Portugal* for a *Preſident.* Nay I have not found any man yet, ſo Cautious upon This Subject, but he has let fall ſomthing, *Tantamount*; And in truth the Queſtion does Naturally lean That way. Some tell us that the *People* are the Source of *Government*; and that the *Laſt Reſort* in All Caſes of Principal Import muſt be to *Them.* Whereas, *Firſt*, there was a *Providential Power*, before any Subject *Actually* in *Being*, for That Power to exerciſe it ſelf Upon: *Secondly*; there is nothing more Common, then for a People to convey away what Right they have, beyond a Power of *Revocation.* And if a man deſires to ſee the *Covenants*; the Anſwer is, that the *Conditions* are either *Expreſt*, or *Imply'd*: Which word IMPLY'D ſerves to all Turns and Purpoſes Imaginable. By a Power IMPLY'D, a *Proteſtant*, as well as a *Popiſh Succeſſour* may be *Diſinherited*: A *King* in *Poſſeſſion*, *Depoſed*, whether *Good*, or *Bad.* For who can ſet forth the Terms and Condition of an Unknown, and an Unbounded Power. A Government, we are told, cannot be ſuppos'd Deſtitute of a Power to preſerve it ſelf, in Caſes of Manifeſt, and Publick Dangers. If we enquire where That Power of preſerving the Government is plac'd; the Reply is This: That *Governours are ſet up for the Good of the People*; *and when They fail of doing their Duty, the People may provide for themſelves*: That is to ſay, the *People*, by their *Repreſentatives* in Parliament.

But

But what if *That Repreſentative*, ſhould prove *Falſe* too? The *King* was not pleas'd with the *Parliament* of 1641. nor the *People* with the *Late Long Parliament*: what's to be done Next; but only to go together by the Ears about it, and when they have their Bellies full, only *Shuffle the Cards, and deal again.* From theſe dark Reſerves of Government, the point Riſes by Degrees into Caſes of Inſtance, and Illuſtration. As in the Caſe of *Lunacy*, or *Unfitneſs to Govern*; or *if a Prince be really bent to* Alienate *his Kingdom.* In Theſe Caſes it is taken up for granted, that the people may *Depoſe* and Subſtitute Another Sovereign. But who ſhall judg now when ſuch a Caſe arrives? If the *People*; they judg for *Themſelves*; and only take the Government out of *Other* hands, to put it into their *Own*: what if they ſhould ſay that This *is* the Caſe where it is *not*; Or that it is *not*, where it *is*? If the King do but keep a *Guard* to preſerve His *Perſon* from an *Aſſaſſin*; or make a *Foreign Alliance*, upon the Common Terms of Privileg that all other Crowned Heads proceed upon; he lies at the Mercy of the People, if they ſhall think fit to Interpret This to be a Deſign upon an *Arbitrary Power*, or the *Alienation* of His *Dominions*; and that he is conſequently *Depoſable.*

The Kings Caſe, and the Dukes are unluckily Coupled.

It carries a very Ill face with it, that the *Two Caſes* of *Diſinheriting* the *Duke*, and *Depoſing* the *King* ſhould be ſo Unluckily *Coupled*, that you ſhall very rarely find the *One* without the *Other*: And little more then This Difference betwixt *them*: that the *One* IS to be done *Forthwith*, and the *Other* MAY be done (when the people pleaſe) at *Leiſure.* If ever this Queſtion ſhould come to be taken up again; I do verily believe that the Houſe of Commons

will

will not thank the Refiners upon the *Former Bill*, for charging the Propoſition with ſo many *Suſpicious Aggravations*; as for ought any body knows, may endanger the whole Buſ'neſs. For Theſe Venerable Patriots did only, out of an Exceſs of *Zeal*, Intend the *Excluſion* of the *Duke*, without Clogging the Bill with any ſubſequent *Incumbrances*, upon the *Crown*. There are ſome Qualifications, I know, that look as if they would be thought to ſtick to the ſingle Matter of the *Bill*; and diſtinguiſh betwixt an *Heir Preſumptive*, and *Apparent*, a *King* in *Poſſe*, and in *Eſſe*; and fortifie themſelves with *Authorities* to warrant the *Proceeding*. The *Duke* is a *Subject*, they ſay: and not properly an *Heir* of the *Crown*; but only in *Poſſibility* ſo to *be*. The Unwary Reader will Imagine now, that the *Duke*, being a SUBJECT, may be *put By*; but that if the KING were of the *Romiſh Communion*, they could not *meddle* with *Him*. And yet, according to the Propoſitions above-mentioned, His *Majeſties* Caſe would be found no better than His *Brothers*. And not only ſo neither, but the very ſaying that *he is ſo*, in Conſtruction, *makes* him ſo, even thô he ſhould give up His Life, as His Father did, for the Reformed Profeſſion.

The King no ſafer, then the Duke.

It is not to ſay that This is either *Impoſſible* or *Unlikely*: For, *Firſt*, the Thing has been done already. That is to ſay, This *Popular Power* has been already laid down as a *Fundamental Right* in the *People*. *Secondly*, That pretended Power has been exerted in a Formal *Charge*, of *Popiſh*, and *Tyrannical Deſigns*, upon a Prince, the moſt Innocent peradventure, in thoſe Two Particulars, that ever Liv'd. And *Thirdly*, A ſentence of *Death*, *paſt*, and *Executed*, upon That Innocent Perſon, in the

The Dangerous Conſequences of placing the Power in the People.

Name, and by the Assumed *Authorities* of the *Commons of England*. So that This Imagination is not a *Chimæra*, but a *True*, and *Tragical History* of a *Prince murther'd*, even in Our days, upon This Foundation. And then for the *Probability* of the same Thing over again, now in Agitation; we have the Writings of the very Persons Concern'd, in Evidence against them, For notwithstanding their Formalizing upon the *Lawfulness* of the Thing, in regard That his *Royal Highness* is but a *Subject*; they are Now come up roundly to the Point of *Opposing*, and *Rejecting* him, even supposing that he were their *Sovereign*: and without the Ceremony of *an Act of Parliament* in the Case.

The Commons Vote.

The House of Commons passed a *Vote* upon *May* 11. last past, *that if His Majesty should come by any Violent Death (which God forbid) they would Revenge it to the Utmost, on the Papists:* Which Vote they Explain'd in their *Address* of the 14, by saying that *they would be ready to Revenge upon the Papists, any Violence offer'd by* THEM *to His Sacred Majesty:* By THEM tis said, because it might be Understood Otherwise, that an *Anabaptist* might Commit the *Crime*, and a *Papist suffer* for't. This *Vote*, and *Address*, are Printed Both together in the same Pamphlet; and with a most Dangerous prospect upon His Majesties Person: if Malice on either hand should take place. For the Edge of the Reasoning is turned against it self; while the One Faction is Provoked, and the Other Encouraged to the most Execrable Villanies Imaginable.

The Libel Here Reflected upon, is called *Englands Safety*: and said in the Title Page to be *Published for Information of all True Protestants, that they may not be affraid, nor ashamed openly in Parliament*

ment to Act, and oppoſe any Popiſh Succeſſour and his Adherents from Inheriting the Crown of England, *in Caſe* His Majeſties Life (*which God forbid*) *be taken from him.*

This Preface was worded by ſomebody that knew well enough what he ſaid; and without Diſpute intended to be as good as his word. We ſhall not need to look any further for his Meaning than to *Grammar*, and *Common Conſtruction*. The Queſtion was put, in Caſe of the *Preſumptive* **Heir**: And He has ſtreyn'd the Point already, and remov'd it to the **Succeſſor** and his *Adherents*; From the *Expectant* to the *Occupant*, from the *Duke*, to the *King*; and ſo premeditates, and Encourages a Rebellion, in the very Body of his Propoſition: For His Majeſty that now is, muſt be Dead, before the Libellers Device againſt the Succeſſour can take Effect; and *King*, and *Succeſſour*, in This Caſe are *all one*. Now upon This Principle, there needs no more than to ſay, that *any King is a Papiſt*, to *Depoſe* him. Nay admitting This Power to be in the People; *Acts of Parliament* are but Matter of *Courſe*; and they may do the thing even as well, without giving any Reaſon for't; Upon the Ground of their *Unaccountable Prerogative*. It would be known too, what his meaning is by the *Parliament* he ſpeaks of, that is *Openly to oppoſe the Succeſſour*. It cannot be underſtood of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*; for the *King* is the *Party Oppoſed*, and *Excluded*. And then I would as willingly learn what kind of *Oppoſition* it is, that he intends. It muſt be an *Oppoſition*, either of *Force*, and *Violence*, or an *Oppoſition* in the way of *Argument*, *Counſels*, and *Debate*. It cannot be the *Latter* ſure; for what could be more ridiculous, then to expect that a *Prince* ſhould paſs a *Bill* for the

The Queſtion Changed, from *Heir*, to *Succeſſour*.

A deſperate Conſequence.

Depoſal of *Himſelf*. And if it be the *Other*, we are e'en *Half-Seas-Over* already, into a New Rebellion. There is not ſuch a Monſter in Nature as a *Headleſs Parliament*: We have had the Experience of it; and without Rubbing the Old Sore, or Reciting the Calamities it brought upon This Nation; I ſhall only ſay This; I cannot bethink my ſelf of any ſort of Oppreſſion, either in *Religion*, *Property*, or *Freedom*; or of any One *Crying ſin*, in that Impious, and Seditious Interval, that ſcap'd us. I could add ſeveral other Inſtances, of the ſame Complexion with thoſe above Recited; which I ſhall forbear, partly out of Reſpect, and in part to keep my ſelf within Compaſs. For I muſt not Quit This Subject without giving further Evidence of a *Confederacy* againſt the *King* and *Government*; like thoſe that Rob the Houſe, under colour of Helping to Quench the Fire; and in the very Inſtant of Pretending to ſave the Kingdom, they are laying their Heads together how to Deſtroy it: Witneſs the moſt Audacious Libel (perhaps) that ever flew in the Face of any Government.

The Political Catechiſm.

It bears the Title of **A Political Catechiſm**, *concerning the Power, and Privileges of Parliament*; *taken*, (as pretended) *out of His Majeſties* Nineteen Propoſitions *of* June 2. 1642. with a Conſtruction, and Application, much at the rate of the Devils Gloſs upon the Text to our Saviour upon the Pinacle of the Temple. The Compiler of This Libel, makes His Majeſties Anſwer to be, Effectually, an *Admittance* of the *Right*, and *Reaſon* of the *Propoſitions*: and the Publiſher of it recommends the *Doctrine* of 1642. to the *Practice* of 1679. We'l take a ſhort View, *Firſt*, of the *Quality* of the *Propoſitions*; *Secondly*, of the *Kings Senſe* upon them:

them: And *after* That of our *Catechists New model of Government.* The main Scope of the *Propositions* is This.

All Privy-Councellors and Ministers of State to be discharg'd; and their places Supply'd by direction, and Approbation of Both Houses: And all to be Under such an Oath, as They shall agree upon. The Great Affairs of the Nation to be Transacted in Parliament, and no Publick Act of the Kings to be Valid, unless Subscribed by the Major part of the Councel. (Chosen ut supra.) *The Number of the Councel to be Limited; and all Vacancies fill'd, by direction of Parliament. All the Great Officers, and Judges to be so Chosen: The* Militia *acknowledg'd to be in the Two Houses; and They likewise to have the Approbation of the Tutors and Governors of the Kings Children; and of Those that Attend them. All Forts, and Castles to be put into the hands of Persons approv'd of by the Two Houses. The Kings Guards, and Military Forces to be Discharg'd* (thô the Rebellion was Now begun.) *No Peers Created in time to come to Sit and Vote in Parliament, without the Consent of Both Houses,* &c. The Scope of the Nineteen Propositions.

There will need no Other Descant upon These *Propositions*, (being so Gross in themselves) but only the Citing of some Passages out of His late Majesties *Answer*, in Reflection upon them.

These Demands (says the Late King) *are of That Nature, that to Grant them were in Effect, at Once, to Depose both Our self, and Our Posterity. These things being past; we may be waited upon bare-headed; We may have Our hand kist; the Stile of Majesty Continu'd to Us; and the Kings Authority declared by Both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Stile of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces* *Husbands* Collections Pag. 316.

Maces carry'd before Us; and pleaſe Our ſelf with the ſight of a Crown, and Scepter. (And yet even theſe Twigs would not Long flouriſh when the Stock upon which they grew are Dead) But as to True, *and* Real Power; *We ſhould remain but the* Outſide; *but the* Picture; *but the* Sign *of a* King, *&c.*

And Again, *Thô we ſhall always weigh the Advices both of Our Great, and Privy-Council, with the Proportionable Conſideration due to them: yet we ſhall alſo look upon their* Advices, *as* Advices, *not as* Commands, *or* Impoſitions; *Upon* Them, *as Our* Counſellors, *not as Our* Tutors, *and* Guardians; *and upon* Our Self *as their* King, *not as their* Pupil, *or* Ward. Pag. 318. And Further Pag. 320. *We call God to Witneſs, that as for Our Subjects ſake theſe Rights are veſted in Us; So for Their ſakes as well as for Our Own we are reſolved not to quit them; nor to ſubvert* (thô in a Parliamentary way) *the Antient, Equal, Happy, Well-poiſed, and never enough Commended Conſtitution of This Kingdom; Nor to make Our ſelf of a King of* England, *a* Duke *of* Venice, *and This of a Kingdom a* Republick. Moreover Pag. 322. *The Common people, when they find that all was done* By *them, but not* For *them, will at laſt grow weary of* Journey-work, *and ſet up for themſelves; call* Parity, *and* Independence, Liberty; *devouring the Eſtate which had devoured the Reſt; Deſtroy all Rights, and Proprieties, all Diſtinctions of Families, and Merit; And by This means the ſplendid, and Excellently-diſtinguiſh'd Form of Government, end in a Dark, Equal* Chaos *of Confuſion, and the Long Line of Our many Noble Anceſtors, in a* Jack Cade, *or a* Wat Tiler.

After

After the Mockery of the Abovemention'd Propoſitions, and the Kings Juſt and Prophetical Judgment made upon them; we ſhall only Add, that the *Ruin* of *the Late King*, was as Certainly the *Intent* of Thoſe *Undutiful Demands*, as it was the *Effect* of them in the *Execution* of the *Powers* claim'd *Thereby:* and we may as reaſonably conclude, that the ſame Pretenſions, now over again, are publiſh'd with the ſame Ends; and that the Sufferance of This Licence will Naturally run into the ſame Conſequences. For the whole work of moving a Rebellion is but, *Firſt*, to poſſeſs the people with Ill Thoughts of the preſent Adminiſtration; (which is done Abundantly already in Swarms of Defamatory Libels, which we meet with every day in the ſtreet) *Secondly*, to poſſeſs the People with Falſe Opinions, in the Matter of Government and Duty; which is the buſineſs of our *Political Catechiſm: Thirdly*, to Put thoſe Principles and Thoughts in Execution; which is Expreſs'd by the Drift of Another Pamphlet newly come out of the Preſs; Entitled, *An Appeal from the Country, to the City*, of which we ſhall ſay ſomthing in Courſe, taking only a Taſte by the way of our *Catechiſtical Poſitions*.

The Kings Ruin was and is deſign'd.

Seditious Poſitions.

If the King be Regulated *by the* Law (ſay they) *then is the King* Accountable *to the Law, and not to* God. Only. Pag. 1. *The Immediate* Original *of the Kings* Power *was from the* People: *and if ſo; then in queſtioned Caſes the* King *is to produce his* Grant, (*for he hath no more then what was* Granted) *and not the* People *to ſhew a* Reſervation; *For* All is preſumed to be Reſerv'd, which cannot be prov'd to be Granted away.

Upon the Late Kings ſaying in his Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions, Pag. 321. *That the Power Legally placed in Both Houſes*

Houſes is more then ſufficient to prevent, and reſtrain the Power of Tyranny; our Politick Catechizer Infers, *the Two Houſes to be the Legal Judges, when there is danger of* Tyranny: *And to have Legal Power to Command their Judgment to be Obey'd, for Prevention, as well as Reſtraint of Tyranny. And not only when Arms are Actually rais'd againſt them; but when they diſcern, and accordingly declare a Preparation made Towards it. And that they have Legal Power in ſuch times of Danger, to put into ſafe hands, ſuch Forts, Ports, Magazines, Ships, and Power of the* Militia, *as are intended, or likely to be intended to Introduce a Tyranny. And a Legal Power alſo to Levy Mony, Arms, Horſe, and Ammunitions upon the Subjects, in ſuch Caſes of Danger even without, or againſt the Kings Conſent.*

These are his *Poſitions* in the very Terms; and the paſſing over of ſuch Indignities upon *His Majeſties Royal Office*, and the Honour of the *Monarchy it ſelf*, without either *Puniſhment*, or *Reproof*; looks like a *Tacite Legitimation* of the Utmoſt *Violences* upon his Sacred *Perſon*. And now Conſider the Matchleſs Malice, and Abſurdity of his Inference. The King having thus expounded himſelf in the *ſame Page*; *The Houſe of Commons (an Excellent Conſerver of Liberty, but never intended for any ſhare in Government, or for the Chuſing of them that ſhould Govern) is ſolely intruſted with the Firſt Propoſitions of raiſing Monies*, &c. And again *the Lords being truſted with a Judicatory Power, are an Excellent Skreen, and Bank between the Prince and People.*

A Malitious Inference.

After This open, and Audacious way of Authorizing a Commotion; it is but Natural for an Incendiary to blow the Coal, and to apply his Clamour to the People, to bid them *Up and be doing*. And that's the part our *Boute-feu-Appellant* has to play. But how does this Scandalous Pamphlet addreſs it ſelf to the City; after ſo Freſh, ſo Loyal and

A Scandalous Addreſs to the City.

and so Generous an Instance from the whole Body of it, of their Scorn, and Detestation of a Seditious Practice. Why should a *Wat Tyler* expect better Quarter from a *Lord Mayor* under *Charles* the *Second*, then he had from a Lord Mayor under *Richard* the *Second*? Nay That very Rebellion of 1641. is most Injuriously charg'd upon the City of *London*; for *Gourney*, *Ricaut*, *Garraway*, and the most Considerable of the Citizens, were not only against it in their *Opinions*, but Oppos'd it to the Utmost, with their *Estates*, and *Persons*. And That Honourable City has not yet forgotten, either the Calamities of the War; or the Methods and Instruments which brought so great a Reproch, and Mischief upon the City. Beside that it is as much their Interest as their Duty, and as much their Inclination as either, to support the Government. For by a War they must of Necessity suffer doubly; and not only in the Loss, or Abatement of their Trade; but in the deep Proportion of their Taxes to the Charge of the War. This Scribler I perceive, has read *Hodge upon the Monument*; and writing after That Copy follows the same Phansie; of the Citizens looking about them from the Top of the Pyramid.

Mr. *Walworth.*

The City of *London* has been always Loyal.

Hodge upon the *Monument.*

The *Libeller* sets up for an *Orator.*

First, says he, *Imagine you see the whole Town in a Flame, occasioned this second time by the same Popish Malice which set it on Fire before. At the same Instant Phansie that among the distracted Croud you behold Troops of Papists Ravishing your Wives and Daughters; dashing your little Childrens brains out against the Walls, Plundering your Houses, and Cutting your Own Throats by the name of* Heretick Dogs. *Then represent to your selves the Tower playing off its Canon, and battering down your Houses about your Ears. Also Casting your Eye toward* Smithfield, *Imagine you see your Father, or your Mother, and some of your*

neareſt and deareſt Relations ty'd to a Stake, in the Midſt of Flames; when with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven they Shream, and Cry out to That God for whoſe Cauſe they Die; which was a frequent Spectacle the laſt time Popery reign'd among us. Phanſie you behold thoſe beautiful Churches erected for the True Worſhip of God, abuſed and turn'd into Idolatrous Temples to the Diſhonor of Chriſt, and Scandal of Religion. The Miniſters of Gods Holy Word torn in pieces before your Eyes; and their very beſt Friends not daring to ſpeak in their behalf; your Trading's Bad, and in a manner Loſt already; but Then the Only Commodity will be Fire and Sword: The Only Object; Women running with their Hair about their Ears; Men cover'd with Blood, &c.

Now to Match this Diſmal Proſpect of *Imaginary Calamities to Come*, we ſhall mind this man of Frightful Apprehenſions, with a Brief Summary of what this Nation has really ſuffer'd in *Fact*, and brought upon it ſelf, by giving credit to ſuch Stories as theſe, without any other Effect. See His *Majeſties Declaration* of *Aug.* 12. 1642. *Collect.* Pag. 540.

The Old Story.

One day the Tower of London *is in danger to be taken; and Information given that Great Multitudes, at leaſt a Hundred, had that day reſorted to viſit a Prieſt, then a Priſoner there by Order of the Lords: and that about the time of the Information, about fifty or ſixty were then there; and a* Warder *diſpatcht of purpoſe to give that notice: Upon Inquiry, but* four perſons *were then found to be There, and but eight all that day, who had viſited the Prieſt. Another day a* Taylor *in a Dutch over-heares two paſſengers to Plot the Death of Mr.* Pym, *and of many* other Members *of Both Houſes. Then Libellous Letters found in the Streets, without Names. (probably contrived by themſelves; and by Their Power, Publiſhed, Printed, and Enter'd in their Journals) and Intimations given of*

the

the Papists Training under ground, *and of notable Provision of Ammunition in Houses; where, upon Examination, a Single Sword, and a Bow and Arrows are found. A Design of the Inhabitants of* Covent-Garden *to Murther the City of* London. *News from* France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, *of* Armies *ready to come for* England. And again, *Pag.* 536. *they cause Discourses to be Published, and Infusions to be made of Incredible Dangers to the City and Kingdom, by that our coming to the House:* (in the case of the five Members) *An Alarum was given to the City in the Dead time of the Night, that we were coming with Horse and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Arms: And howsoever the Envy seem'd to be cast upon the Designs of the* Papists, *mention was only made of Actions of our* own.

Upon a fair understanding of the whole, this supposition of his is no more then the Counterpart of the old Story: And the Declamatory dangers that he foresees in Vision, were outdone by those sensible Cruelties and Oppressions that this poor Kingdom suffered in very deed. And now to bear him Company in his *Phansy*, we shall give you a *Truth* for his *Imagination*.

Truth for his Vision.

First Imagine the whole Nation in a Flame, and brought to the Extremities of Fire and Sword by the Malice of the same Faction that embroyl'd us before; and at the same Instant, Phansy *whole Droves of Coblers, Draymen, Ostlers, Quartering upon your* Wives *and* Daughters, *till ye want bread to put in your Childrens Mouths; (which was the very Case) your Apprentices discharg'd of their Indentures by Ordinances; your Houses Rifled; your Accompt-Books Examin'd; Servants corrupted to betray their Masters; your Persons sent on Ship-board, transported, or, thrown into nasty Dungeons; or in mercy perhaps your Throats cut, by the Name of* Popish Dogs, *and* Cavaliers. *And all this only for refusing to Renounce God and your*

Soveraign. Then represent to your selves *the* Thimble-maker, *once again Lieutenant of the* Tower; *your Citizens clapt up, orders for the Demolishing of your Gates and Chains; and nothing less than* Military Execution *threatned ye, unless you will Redeem your selves with* 100000 l. *a Month Contribution, toward the perpetuating of your Slavery. Then* cast your Eye toward Cheapside, Corn-hill, Charing-Cross, Pallace-yard, Tower-hill, *nay,* White-hall *it self; and there Imagine your Father, your Brother, your Citizens, the Nobility, Gentry; nay, the King himself, and his best Friends and Ministers under the hand of the Common Executioner;* Appealing to God, for whose Cause they dy'd. Which was a frequent spectacle, *when the King reign'd no longer among you. Phansie again that* you behold those Beautiful Churches erected for the true Worship of God, abused and turned into *Stables, and the Pulpits into Jugling Boxes, to* Hocus *your Wives and your Daughters, out of their Bodkins and Thimbles: and there to hear nothing but Heresie and Sedition,* to the Dishonour of Christ, and Scandal of Religion. *Phansie the* Ministers of Gods Holy Word *cast out of their Livings by Hundreds, and with their Wives and Children expos'd to the wide World to beg their Bread. Your* Women running with their Hair about their Ears, *One half to the* Works *like* Pioneers, *the other dancing attendance at some Merciless* Committee *to put in Bayl for a Malignant Child, or Husband;* men cover'd with Blood, *lost Limbs, and mangled Bodies, with Horrors of Conscience over and above.*

We should do well to look about us.

If it be true, that these and forty times more Cruelties were committed: And that the People were frighted into these Precipices only by shadows: If it be true again, that those Glorious Pretenders when they had the King and his *Papists* (as they call'd his most Orthodox Friends) under foot; that these People, I say, never lookt further after Religion; but fell presently to the sharing of the Church and Crown Revenues among themselves, It will concern every sober man to look well about him, and to make use of his Reason, as well as of his Faith, for these *Fore-boders* seldom *Croak* but before a *Storm.* This Subject has carry'd me too far already, but I shall be shorter in what follows.

After his affected Image of the Tyranny and Desolation that is breaking in upon us, he does as good as nothing, without working

working up the Peoples *Horror* and *Astonishment* upon those apprehensions, into a Direct *Rage* and *Desperation*. And this he endeavours to bring about by undertaking so positively for his Majesties Murther, as if he himself were of the Conspiracy: Very Peremptorily Issuing out his Orders to the City to be ready with their Arms at an hours warning.

He gives the Kings Murther for granted.

The first Hour (says he) wherein ye hear of the Kings untimely End, let no other Noise be heard among you, but that of A R M, A R M; to revenge your Soveraigns Death, both upon his Murtherers and their whole Party; For that there's no such thing as an English Papist, *who is not in the Plot, at least in his good wishes. Let not fear of losing Part by your* Action *make you lose the whole by your* Patience. *Pag.* 4. *And then,* Pag. 25. *he points them out the very* General *to lead them; a respect which neither the* City, *nor the* Illustrious Person himself, *will thank him for, upon so disorderly an occasion: Enforcing his Proposition with this Inducement, That* he who hath the *worst Title* ever makes the *best King. Which is no* Complement *at all to his* Majesty *himself, for the* Usurper, *it seems, would be better for* His *turn. So that without any* It's *or* And's *the thing is given for Granted; and upon this* Intrigation, *the least Rumour in the World, that way, puts the people upon a General Massacre; as the bare Report lately of the* French *appearing before the Isle of* Purbeck, *had like to have done in several places. And then to the same Purpose,* Pag. 23. They will vigorously, and speedily attempt the Kings Ruine, unless he suddenly prevent it, by adhering to his Parliament, and ruining Them First. *Whether this be the way to* Expose *the Life of his most Sacred Majesty, or to* Preserve *it, let the World judg: And of the Irreverence of handling so tender a Point at this Course rate. Nay, it does not only pronounce upon the* Thoughts *and* Purposes *of* Men, *but upon the most* secret appointment *of* God himself. When God designs the Destruction of a King, or People, (*says he*) Pag. 11. he makes them deaf to all Discoveries. *This Observation of his, I'm affraid, is more to the purpose then he was aware of: For there are Discoveries of several sorts, that are Evident Enough, and yet not much taken notice of. To say nothing of the Censures he passes upon the Kings Actions, and Publick Resolutions of State: Only I wonder who made this Man a* Judg *in* Israel. *He quarrels his Majesty,* Pag. 3. *For* Prorogations, *and* Dissolutions *of* Parliaments. *And* Pag. 4. *upon another Point.* Pag. 23. *He Pre-judges the Par-*

liament, as if they would give his Majesty no Supplies, unless he takes off the Heads of the Popish Faction, exclude the Succession, and consent to such Laws, as must of necessity ruin them. *In his* 6th Page, *he shews himself so good an* English-man, *that he Professes, he would rather be under a* French Conqueror *then under the* Duke, *as* Successor. *And he goes so far too toward the Dislike of the Government it self, that he says,* no Government but Monarchy can in *England* ever support, or favour *Popery*, P. 7. *He tells the City*, Pag. 5. *that* their Enemies *are young beggerly Officers, Gowners, Over-hot Church-men* and *Papists*; *and charges the* three First *with lessening the* Plot, *and resembling the* times *to* 1641. *Now how is it possible, but the* Petitions *of* 1641. *should put us in mind of the* Rebellion *of* 1641? *He begins his* 10th Page *thus*. After the *Catholicks* had thus brought the *Fathers Head* to the *Block*, and sent the *young Princes* into *Exile*, &c. *Now to give the Devil his due, I cannot find so much as* one Papist *in the whole List of* Regicides. *He has, I confess, one admirable* Fetch *to prove His* R. H. *dangerous to his Majesty, because he is both a* Friend, *and a* Brother, Pag. 17. *as if the King were safer in the hands of his* Enemies, *then of his* Friends. *If his meaning be, that they are more dangerous in regard of* Confidence, *and* Opportunities, *there is no Fence against that Danger, but utterly to cast off all the* Bonds, *and* Dictates, *of* Society, *and* good Nature. *We must contract no Friendships, and trust no Relations for fear they should cut our Throats. How much more wretched then Beasts has our Appetite made us at this rate, by poysoning the very Fountain of Human Comforts.*

Though I have drawn out this Pamphlet already further then I intended, I must not close it yet without one General Observation upon the People we have to deal with in this Controversie.

Calumny and *Imposture* have ever been the two main Pillars of their Cause; and if they can but wheedle the Vulgar, on the one hand, and defame the Friends of the Government, on the other, their business is done. There scarce passes a day without a Libel against both *Church and State*; without either *Provocation*, or *Punishment*: which both shews their *Malice*, and confirms them in their *Insolence*. There is nothing so Odious, and so Ridiculous together, as betwixt *Droll*, and *Sophisme*, these People represent the Publick Management of Affairs. And who

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can blame the *Multitude* now, under these Circumstances of *Licence*, and *Delusion*, if they either Forget, or Depart from their Duties? Is there not *Law*, and *Power* sufficient for the *Preventing*, or *Suppressing* these Indignities? Or is it a thing not worth the taking Notice of? for his Majesty to be told every day, in a Pamphlet, at his Palace-gate, that *His Ministers are Traytors and Conspirators*; *His Courtiers a Pack of Knaves*; *and He himself but upon his Good Behaviour to his own Subjects?* WILL it end Here? DID it end Here? But whence is it that all this *Venom* and *Confidence* proceeds? The *Former* is only a Fermentation of the *Old Leaven* (for we have our *Jesuits* too) The *Papal Jesuite* is an Enemy to *Heretical Kings*; and the *Protestant Jesuite* will have *no Kings at all*, and then for their Confidence, they have both *Impunity*, and *Encouragement*: the former proves it self; and I shall now conclude with a word or two concerning the other.

The bringing of this Devilish *Plot* upon the Stage, has struck all men of Piety, Loyalty, and Love to their Country; with *Amazement*, and *Horror*. The *Murther* of a *Prince*, the *Subversion* of our *Government*, and *Religion*; What can be more Execrable? The thought of so Diabolical a Practice has justly transported the People to the highest degree of Rage against it, imaginable: And it is a *Meritorious*, and a *Laudable Zeal* too, so long as it contains it self within the Bounds of *Law*, and *Duty*: While the King, Council and Parliament are, in the mean time, sifting, and Examining the Design, and doing Justice upon the Offenders.

One Plot under another.

Now there are a sort of men, that under the Countenance of *This Plot* advance *another* of their *own*, and 'tis but the Rubbing of a Libel with a little Anti-Popery, to give it the Popular smack; and any thing else against the Government goes down Current. If a man Writes, or Speaks, or Reasons against them, he is presently *a favourer of the Papists*, *a Lessener of the Plot*, and run down with *Nonsence*, and *Clamor*. A Person of Untainted Honour and Integrity, puts in for a *Parliament-man*; 'tis but any Little Fellows taking advantage of the Humour of the People, and *Billing* of him for having some *Papist* to his *Kinsman*, perhaps, or Visiting some *Lord* in the *Tower*; or under the common Scandal of a *Courtier*, or a *Pensioner*, and he's gone to all Intents and Purposes. This is the Character they give to every man

man that loves the *King*, the *Church*, or the *Law*. They serve them as *Nero* did the *Christians*; they put them into *Bears-skins*; that is to say, they call them *Papists*, *Pensioners*, *Conspirators*, and then deliver them up to be *worry'd* by the *Rabble*. Shall we never distinguish between *Indubitable Truths*, and *Transparent Falsboods?* betwixt *Words* and *Deeds*, that stand in a direct *Opposition*, the *One* to the *Other?* What Privileg has a *Phanatick* to blow up a Government, more than a *Jesuite?* It must be confest, however, that he is the *Braver Enemy of the two*, for he scorns to sneak to the Execution of his Exploit with a *Dark Lanthorn*; and to take advantage of *Authority* by *Surprize*; but *Arraigns Princes, and puts them to death in the face of the Sun*; and at *this Instant*, charges the *Church openly* with *Idolatry*, *Superstition and Oppression*; the *State* with *Tyranny*; and the *Law* it self, with *Error* and *Insufficiency*. His first work is to Accuse his *Superiors* of *Mis-government*: And then he tells the *People*; next, that in Case of *Mis-government* they may resume their *Power*. And *what's all this to the* PLOT?

THE END.